

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2680
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USMISSION NATO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0678

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UN, YO
SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV PAPER ON SPECIAL SESSION

REF: A) USUN 465
B) USUN 621
C) USUN 614

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE YUGOSLAV PAPER ON SSOD ISSUES
(REF A), NOW BEFORE THE NONALIGNED SSOD STERRING GROUP,
PROVIDES, USEFUL INSIGHT INTO YUGOSLAV AIMS AND TACTICS,
ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT LIKELY TO GAIN BLANKET ENDORSEMENT AS A
"NONALIGNED POSITION." ASIDE FROM PROPOSING AN ORGANIZA-
TIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL SESSION AND
THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE, THE PAPER VENTURES INTO SUB-
STANTIVE ISSUES WITH SEVERAL APPARENT OBJECTIVES:

-- TO PROMPT EARLY THINKING, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE
NONALIGNED, ON MAJOR ISSUES THEY CAN PUSH AT THE SESSION;
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-- TO COURT WESTERN INTEREST BY STRESSING NON-
ALIGNED MODERATION AND BY INCLUDING ISSUES OF KNOWN
WESTERN CONCERN (E.G., CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS);

-- TO WARN MORE RADICAL NONALIGNED DELEGATIONS
AGAINST EXTREME DEMANDS AND CONFRONTATION;

-- TO SIGNAL TO THE SOVIETS CONTINUING NON-ALIGNED DISSATISFACTION WITH THEIR QUERULOUS AND GRUDGING ATTITUDE BY STUDIOUSLY IGNORING EVERY "SOVIET" ISSUE, ESPECIALLY THE QUESTION OF A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE;

-- AND, NOT LEAST IMPORTANTLY, TO STAKE AN EARLY CLAIM FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT OF PARTICULAR YUGOSLAV INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.

2. PROMPTING NONALIGNED INTERESTS. AS REPORTED REF A, YUGOSLAVS SUBMITTED THEIR PAPER TO THE 32-MEMBER NONALIGNED STEERING GROUP FOR SPECIAL SESSION ISSUES IN LATE FEBRUARY, CHARACTERIZING IT MODESTLY AS "THE FIRST DOCUMENT IN THE FILE" MEANT ONLY TO STIMULATE THOUGHT AMONG THE NONALIGNED, MOST OF WHOM HAVE SHOWN RELATIVELY LITTLE INTEREST IN THIS UNDERTAKING. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE YUGOSLAVS SPEAK VAGUELY OF CONSIDERING "AMENDMENTS" TO THEIR PAPER AND CLEARLY HOPE IT WILL FORM A BASIS FOR A CONSOLIDATED "NONALIGNED POSITION PAPER." THIS EFFORT WILL BE SUPPLEMENTED, ACCORDING TO THE YUGOSLAVS, BY SUBMISSION OF A SIMILAR PAPER TO THE APRIL MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NONALIGNED COORDINATING COMMITTEE IN NEW DELHI.

3. ALTHOUGH MUCH OF THE PAPER IS CALCULATED TO APPEAL TO NONALIGNED CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERESTS MANY NONALIGNED ARE LIKELY TO FOCUS ON DEFICIENCIES, GAPS, AND MISPLACED PRIORITIES IN THE PAPER. MEXICO AND INDIA HAVE ALREADY INDICATED UNWILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER THE YUGOSLAV PAPER AS AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR NONALIGNED ACTION, CITING THIS "IMBALANCE." MOST PROMINENT AMONG THE "DEFICIENCIES" OF THE YUGOSLAV PAPER LIKELY TO ATTRACT CRITICISM FROM OTHER NONALIGNED ARE ITS LOW-KEY TREATMENT OF THE ASSERTED LINK BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (WHICH IS MENTIONED ONLY BRIEFLY IN TERMS OF A POSSIBLE FUND FOR PROVIDING DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FROM SAVINGS FROM THE "REDUCTION OF MILITARY EFFECTIVES") AND ITS INCLUSION OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS AS A SEPARATE TOPIC.

4. COURTING WESTERN SUPPORT -- WITHIN LIMITS.

MANY OF THE FAILINGS OF THE YUGOSLAV PAPER FROM THE RADICAL NONALIGNED PERSPECTIVE

ARE SEEM AS STRENGTHS FROM THE WESTERN STANDPOINT. MORE GENERALLY, THE PAPER'S STRESS ON THE NEED FOR MODERATION, MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, AND COOPERATION SHOWS SENSITIVITY TO WESTERN (AS WELL AS SOVIET) CONCERNS. THUS, THE PAPER DISAVOWS ANY INTENTION TO "DISARM THE BIG POWERS" 94 "TO MAKE EXTREME DEMANDS AND SUPERFLUOUS VERBAL CRITICISM OF LEADING MILITARY POWERS FOR PAST FAILURES" AND ASSERTS THAT "THE NONALIGNED WILL ADOPT A REALISTIC APPROACH." SUCH LANGUAGE AIMS NOT ONLY AT REASSURING THE MAJOR POWERS BUT ALSO AT WARNING MORE RADICAL NONALIGNED NOT TO EXPLOIT THE SESSION BY SEEKING CONFRONTATION AND THE ADOPTION OF STRIDENT MANIFESTOS.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, SOME ISSUES RAISED IN THE PAPER DIRECTLY CONFLICT WITH WESTERN VIEWS, AND SOME
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MAJOR WESTERN INTERESTS ARE IGNORED. MOST SIGNIFICANTLY, THE PAPER MAKES NO MENTION OF "HORIZONTAL" NONPROLIFERATION, THOUGH IT GIVES PROMINENCE TO SUCH "VERTICAL" PROLIFERATION ISSUES AS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, NON-USE ASSURANCES, AND NUCLEAR TESTING. ANOTHER "WESTERN" INTEREST ABSENT FROM THE PAPER IS PROMOTION OF REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS. IN SOME RESPECTS, THIS ISSUE POSES MORE DIFFICULT TACTICAL PROBLEMS FOR THE NONALIGNED THAN THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER PROBLEM, WITH WHICH IT IS GENERALLY ASSOCIATED, AND ITS ABSENCE MAY REFLECT ANTICIPATED OBJECTIONS FROM KEY LATIN AMERICAN, AFRICAN, AND ASIAN DELEGATIONS.

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6. CHASTISING THE SOVIETS. WHILE SOME EFFORT IS MADE TO COURT WESTERN DELEGATIONS, WHICH HAVE BY AND LARGE PROFESSED A POSITIVE AND COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD SPECIAL SESSION PREPARATION, NO EFFORT AT ALL IS MADE TO SATISFY THE SOVIETS. ON THE CONTRARY, THE PAPER SEEMS CALCULATED TO ANTAGONIZE THEM, AS A DEMONSTRATION OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE CRITICAL, HEAVY-HANDED, AND CONDITIONED APPROACH THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN. THE CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE SOVIET APPROACH--THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD SERVE AS A PREPARATORY STEP TOWARD THE CONVENING OF A WDC--IS COMPLETELY IGNORED IN THE PAPER, EVEN THOUGH THE WDC QUESTION WAS IDENTIFIED AT THE COLOMBO NONALIGNED SUMMIT AS ONE OF THE THREE MAIN AGENDA ITEMS FOR THE SESSION. OTHER SOVIET DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES ARE ALSO OMITTED, INCLUDING THE PROHIBITION OF "NEW TYPES AND SYSTEMS" OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS AND REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS. THOUGH THE PAPER RAISES THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING MEASURES FOR THE

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STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, IT POINTEDLY AVOIDS MENTION OF A TREATY ON NON-USE OF FORCE, THE SOVIETS' 1976 UNGA SHOWPIECE.

7. THESE OMISSIONS, OF COURSE, DO NOT SERVE EXCLUSIVELY AS "PUNISHMENT" OF THE SOVIETS. THEY ARE ALSO A BACKHANDED WAY OF APPEALING TO WESTERN POWERS AND--PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY--ENCOURAGING THE CHINESE TO TAKE A LESS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE BY DEMONSTRATING NONALIGNED ALOOFNESS FROM SOVIET POSITIONS. CHINESE NEGATIVISM HAS BEEN AN ACUTE DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE YUGOSLAVS, AND HOPE OF A CHANGE IN CHINESE ATTITUDES IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO COLOR THEIR APPROACH TO ANY ISSUE IDENTIFIED AS "SOVIET."

8. STAKING A CLAIM FOR YUGOSLAV ISSUES. AMONG ALL ITS OTHER OBJECTIVES, THE PAPER SEEKS TO STAKE A PROMINENT

POSITION FOR FAVORITE YUGOSLAV POSITIONS AND PROPOSALS. SEVERAL OF THE NUCLEAR ISSUES MENTIONED, SUCH A REMOVAL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES, ELIMINATION OF FOREIGN MILITARY BASES, AND WITHDRAWAL OF NUCLEAR FLEETS FROM CLOSED SEAS, HAVE LONG BEEN FEATURED IN YUGOSLAV STATEMENTS. THE IDENTIFICATION OF NAPALM AS A MAJOR ISSUE IS ALSO AN IDENTIFIABLY "YUGOSLAV" POSITION. THE PAPER'S SUGGESTION OF A COMPREHENSIVE TREATY BANNING CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ALSO APPEARS TO REFLECT A STANDARD YUGOSLAV IDEA (ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAV MISOFF BRANKOVIC HAS CONFESSED CONFUSION OVER ITS PRECISE MEANING, NOTING THAT BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ARE ALREADY BANNED). OTHER TRADITIONAL YUGOSLAV IDEAS INCLUDE THE CONCEPT OF A DISARMAMENT "TIMETABLE", REORGANIZATION OF THE UNGA FIRST COMMITTEE AND OF THE CCD, THE LINKING OF DISARMAMENT AND "STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY" DEBATES, AND POSSIBLE CREATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR DISARMAMENT.

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9. OVERALL ASSESSMENT. THE YUOSLAV PAPER'S SIGNIFICANCE LIES MORE IN WHAT IT SUGGESTS ABOUT CURRENT YUGOSLAV THINKING, TACTICS, AND AMBITIONS THAN IN ITS SPECIFIC CONTENTS. THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY SUCCEED IN ACHIEVING THEIR MULTIPLE AND SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTORY OBJECTIVES REMAINS TO BE SEEN. INITIALLY, NONALIGNED REACTIONS HAVE BEEN MIXED, WITH SOME KEY ACTORS SHOWING RESENTMENT OVER WHAT THEY SEE AS A YUGOSLAV EFFORT TO RUN THE SHOW AND PUSH TOO HARD TOO FAST. WESTERN DELEGATIONS HAVE GENERALLY FOCUSSED ON ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES, ALTHOUGH THE PAPER'S REFERENCE TO CONVENTIONAL ARMS HAS AROUSED WIDESPREAD (IF CAUTIOUS) INTEREST. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT REACTED DIRECTLY, ALTHOUGH THE GROMYKO LETTER (REF B) SUGGESTS THEY INTEND TO DIG IN AND TAKE A TOUGH LINE. FOR THE MOMENT, THE YUGOSLAVS APPEAR CONTENT TO HAVE SET OUT THEIR INITIAL STANCE ON SUBSTANCE AND TO DEVOTE THEIR ATTENTION PRIMARILY TO DEVELOPING NONALIGNED SOLIDARITY ON ORGANIZATIONAL AND PROCEDURAL ISSUES (REF C).
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